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WORLD-POLITICS.

PARIS: WASHINGTON.

PARIS, *January, 1907.*

FOR the first time since it has been the business of Republican Parliaments to vote the Budget, that is to say, since five-and-thirty years, the Chamber has managed to be ready with it against the beginning of the year. Week in, week out, on week-days and Sundays, by day and by night, these industrious gentlemen heard, discussed and shuffled off clause after clause with such feverish energy, that a few days before Christmas the whole thing could be sent up to the Senate. Religious questions, Moroccan questions, financial difficulties, etc., now and again had broken in upon the Budget-makers, but they were dismissed one after the other with as much contempt as in other years they would have attracted attention. The motive of this marvellous zeal was made apparent in the beginning of December when the Chamber, first in a sly, underhand manner, but a few days later with undaunted outspokenness, approved a brief clause raising the Deputy's salary or, as it is called, indemnity, from 1,800 to 3,000 dollars a year.

Unfortunately, the Budget thus hurried through does not hang together very satisfactorily. M. Poincaré, the immediate predecessor of the present Minister of Finance, whose interference I have had already to notice, pointed out in the "*Matin*" that its apparent balance had been obtained by such tricks as, for instance, pretending that thirty-eight million dollars employed in military preparations when the Moroccan question made a war with Germany an awful probability appertained to the Budget of 1905. The calmness of the country in presence of a disclosure of this kind shows how indifferent to public affairs the ordinary Frenchman is and will probably still long remain.

The dread of a war with Germany may be latent, but it is real;

and is, so to speak, the background against which nine Frenchmen out of ten see political developments. The topic crops up instantly in conversations and finds its way even into the most serious circles. The departure of the French and Spanish squadrons for Tangier brought about an alarming symptom which elicited endless comment. For several weeks, the Banque de France was almost the only one that would pay in gold, and the nervousness generally attending the appearance of too much paper gained even in commercial circles. Meanwhile M. Jaurès repeatedly warned the Chamber of the danger in which France placed herself by sending a squadron off Tangier without being absolutely certain of at least the permission of Germany. The Socialist leader is, in consequence of his views, averse to wars, but there would be something humiliating in his perpetually acting the part of Cassandra, if he had not a special reason of his own for deprecating a rub with Germany which I heard him state openly a few weeks ago in the Trocadéro. The German Emperor is, in M. Jaurès's opinion, the only German who would gain by a war, as war alone could effectually stop the quickly rising Socialist wave which he fears more than everything else. M. Jaurès concludes that it would be as foolish on the part of the old *parti de la revanche* as on that of the Socialists to let France be drawn into a conflict that would be sure to prevent a revolution in Germany, as the German Revolution will serve as well the humanitarian aspirations of the Socialists as those of the patriots. This Socialist standpoint may be cynical, but it is cleverly chosen, and the theories of Jaurès obscurely appeal to many a Frenchman of the old school who abhors his Socialism.

M. Clémenceau is too much of a patriot to side with the Socialists in their antimilitarism, but he promised, on taking office, that he would carry out several of their social reforms and he has kept his word. One of the first items on the Socialist or Radical-Socialist professions of faith was the nationalization of railways and mines. This great undertaking is now begun. The Chamber has voted the buying back of the Western Railway, and a committee is at present preparing the details of this difficult financial operation. The Western Railway Company was naturally not in favor of nationalization. Its privilege was to have lasted a hundred years, and it opposed with all its might its violent revocation. The Government in its desire to propitiate the Socialists would

have taken this measure in any circumstances, but it was glad of a pretext likely to win the public over to it. Whoever has travelled down the lines to Brittany and the West coast must have noticed and cursed the incredible laxity with which the service is carried on. The present writer, once inquiring of the station-master of an important junction in Brittany at what time the fast train passed through, was answered in the coolest tone that it passed *about* nine o'clock. The Minister of Public Works enlarged on this deplorable state of affairs and promised great punctuality when the State was sole shareholder and engineer. People with an experience of the few lines already worked by the State will not take this statement too sanguinely. The French State is a poor engineer as it is a bad match-maker, and only a tolerable though by no means a cheap tobacconist. But this side of the question is only trifling. The nationalization of this individual line is significant above all as being a threat not only to the other railway companies, but also to the mines and to all the larger industries. Clearly neither the Socialists nor the Government quite realize the feeling of distrust that such an action must inevitably create, and the danger resulting from the migration of capital seems to them a Conservative bugbear.

Parliamentary debates on these questions are often a mere comedy. For instance, the Chamber has adopted in principle and examined with the greatest attention five or six Income-tax Bills and two or three Old-age Pensions Bills, in the firm belief that the Senate would wisely undo what they had done. The commission named by the Senate to examine the Bill relative to the Western Railway had already given a by no means flattering appreciation of the work done by the Lower Assembly, and the Deputies do not seem to take much to heart their seniors' disparagement. They probably expect the Bill to be returned to them with no end of criticism and do not mind. Both Chambers were brought by Jaurès's untiring efforts to pass a law on compulsory weekly rest, but the law would soon be made null and void by numberless exceptions and exemptions if the Socialists were not on their guard constantly.

I did not expect two months ago, when stating the temporary solution proposed by M. Briand to the problem of the legal situation of the Church, that another solution would so soon become necessary.

In the beginning of August, the Pope having forbidden the French Bishops to form Associations for worship, the law of 1905 on Disestablishment became useless—seeing that most of its regulations rested on the existence of Associations—and another law had to be devised. The Minister of Public Worship, M. Briand, thought it possible to give a legal *status* to the Church without taking the trouble of remodelling his law. He proposed to the Chamber to leave everything as it was for another year, during which the Bishops, or rather the Pope, might possibly reconsider their decision, and in the mean time the property held by the cathedrals, churches, seminaries, etc., should not be confiscated at once as the law of 1905, loudly demanded by the old Combes party, said it should be, but it was to be left dormant until the year was out. As to the churches themselves, they were to be left, not in the possession, but at the disposal of the parish priests, provided a yearly declaration was made to the police that religious meetings were to be held in them. Naturally the French clergy resented the withdrawal from their hands of property which is their own and not the State's, and amounting to eighty-five million dollars. On the other hand, M. Jaurès found himself at one with the Catholic Jurists to point out that religious services have nothing in common with public meetings and ought not to be regulated by the same law. He also insisted that the Minister had no right to legislate by circulars, and suggested the repeal pure and simple of the formality of declaration. In spite of the fundamental inapplicability of the declaration, the Clergy were preparing to make it almost everywhere, and several Bishops had already issued orders to that effect when, on December 2nd, M. Briand sent round a circular—inspired no doubt by the Radicals who incessantly canvass him in the Lobby—ordering that the seminaries, about a hundred and sixty in number, should immediately be vacated by their present occupants, and were not on any account to be let to them. This, and perhaps a violently atheistic address of M. Viviani, the new Minister of Labor, once more gave the Pope the impression that the Government is only liberal in speech, and strengthened the distrust which I have so often pointed out as the main spring of his action regarding France. A week later a telegram from Rome prohibited the declaration.

I need not recount how this prohibition enraged the Radicals

and irritated M. Clémenceau to a degree of nervousness to which he had never been wrought up since he took office, how orders were given to expel Mgr. Montagnini, the ex-secretary of the Nuncio and to seize his papers, and how the Bishops were turned out of their Palaces at a few hours' notice. The emotion raised by these proceedings was recorded in the press of the whole world and cannot be already forgotten.

For a few days the Government seemed unable to recover from its exasperation, and tried to carry on an impossible method of enforcing the law by sending every morning the police into every church and chapel where services were held without a previous declaration. However, M. Briand, who is composure itself, soon realized that no police can cope with forty thousand daily outrages of a purely religious character, and made up his mind to submit another law to the Chambers. This law was improvised in a day or two by the Minister, and voted by both the Chamber and Senate in one short sitting. A measure taken with such precipitation in such disturbed circumstances concerning so difficult a subject can have no pretensions to finality, and its author was the first to own that it is full of gaps which are obscure and perhaps contradictory. M. Briand consoled the Chamber by reminding them that a law can always be bettered by another, and that no less than fifteen Bills were passed in the year 1795 concerning ecclesiastical organization. As this is by no means a cheering statement and is likely to depress the foreign reader who is interested in the future of religion in France more than he probably is already by the intricacy of the legislation, I will briefly sum up the law itself.

The new law leaves absolutely no property to the Church. Whatever it possessed is made over to municipal charities and the churches themselves—including two thousand new ones built in the last thirty years exclusively with Catholic contributions—are declared municipal property. Yet the churches—unless abandoned by the Clergy or left out of repair—cannot be sold or used by the Parishes for other than purposes of worship: the priest is to use them, not as owner nor even as tenant, but as natural occupant. In order to secure this juridical claim upon the sacred buildings, the clergy must come to some sort of agreement with the municipal authorities. This agreement rests either on a declaration of public meetings to be held in the

church or in the existence of an Association especially formed by the priest under the law of 1901, but with several reservations of an exceptional, not to say an unjust, character. On the whole the Government throws the burden of regulating the church organization on the municipalities; consequently, the arrangements will be easy or difficult, according to the local contingencies, and a great many churches will probably be closed on various pretexts by individual mayors. Petty vexations will be numerous.

WASHINGTON, *February, 1907.*

ALTHOUGH some sixteen months must pass before the meeting of the next Republican National Convention, there are already several avowed candidates for the Republican nomination for the Presidency, and their friends have begun active campaigns on their behalf. We refer to Secretary of the Treasury Shaw, of Iowa, who will retire from his present office on March 4th, to Mr. Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, Speaker of the House of Representatives and to Vice-President Fairbanks, of Indiana. There is no doubt that a good deal of work has been done for Secretary Shaw. A Republican State convention of Virginia has declared itself in his favor, and he is said to have had delegates promised him from Florida, North Carolina and one or two other Southern States. As those promises, however, appear to have been secured by special agents of the Treasury Department, they may not be kept after Mr. Cortelyou takes possession of Mr. Shaw's present office. There is no doubt that Mr. Cortelyou will support with all the influence at his command the Administration's candidate, whether this should be Secretary Taft or another. To those persons who are inclined to look upon Mr. Shaw's candidacy seriously, it is pointed out that, unless he can win over Governor Cummins, who is a tariff revisionist, the present Secretary of the Treasury, who hitherto has been accounted an inflexible Standpatter, would have no chance of obtaining the delegation from his native State. On the whole, it is doubtful whether he will figure conspicuously, if at all, in the Republican National Convention. The same objection cannot be urged against Speaker Cannon, who, unquestionably, is a "favorite son," and will be backed zealously by the Illinois delegation. His age is against him, however, for on March 4th, 1909, he will be seventy-three years old. We have never previously had but one President who had even

reached the age of sixty-eight at the date of his inauguration, and that was William Henry Harrison, who, about a month thereafter, died in the White House. Zachary Taylor, who was sixty-five when he took the oath of office, died early in the second year of his term. James Buchanan, who was sixty-six when he became President, managed to serve out his term, but the precedent is not encouraging. Vice-President Fairbanks, on the other hand, is but six years older than President Roosevelt, and will have only reached the age of fifty-seven in March, 1909. That he will have the Indiana delegation nobody disputes, although Mr. Harry S. New, of that State, at present the Acting Chairman of the Republican National Committee, is by no means a friend of his. It is certain that Mr. Fairbanks is acceptable to the Stand-patters and to many representatives of railway interests. Among his avowed and zealous advocates are Senator Hemmenway, of Indiana; Senator Scott, of West Virginia; Mr. Charles G. Dawes, of Chicago, who was Comptroller of the Currency in the first McKinley Administration; Mr. D. G. Reid and W. B. Leeds of the Rock Island Railroad Company and Mr. E. H. Harriman of the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific railways. The friends of Mr. Fairbanks look for support not only to a section of the Central West and to Pennsylvania, but also to the States on the Pacific slope, which are now considered unlikely to favor any candidate put forward by the Administration, and to the colored delegates from Southern States, who are believed to have been alienated from Mr. Roosevelt by the Brownsville incident. What darkens the Vice-President's prospect of the Republican nomination is the grave doubt touching his availability. Some of his warmest friends are alleged to have admitted that he probably would be beaten by Mr. Bryan, were there only two candidates in the field, and they are presumed to base their hope of success on the assumption that Mr. Hearst will accept a nomination from the Independence League, and thus divide the Democratic votes. Meanwhile, clear-sighted onlookers opine that, if the Republicans want to make sure of winning, they must nominate a man known to approve of Mr. Roosevelt's policies, such a man, for example, as Secretary Taft or Senator La Follette of Wisconsin or Governor Hughes of New York.

Republican and Democratic Senators express widely different views of the amendment (supposed to have been framed by

Secretary Root), which, on February 16th, the Senate, by almost a strictly party vote, added to the Immigration bill. The amendment is based on the assumption that the Tokio Government is sincere in its assertion that, while it has issued passports for its subjects wishing to emigrate to Hawaii or the Philippines, it does not desire them to settle on the American mainland. If the assumption be well founded—which, by the way, is denied in a telegram from Tokio to the London “Times”—the Mikado’s Ministers will not resent, but welcome the amendment above mentioned, which provides that, whenever the President shall be satisfied that passports issued by any foreign government to its citizens to go to any country other than the United States, or to any insular possession of the United States, or to the canal zone, are being used for the purpose of enabling the holders to come to the continental territory of the United States, to the detriment of labor conditions there, the President may refuse to permit such citizens of the country issuing such passports to enter the continental territory of the United States from such other country, or from such insular possessions, or from the canal zone. That this amendment does not violate the treaty concluded between Japan and the United States in 1904 is evident for two reasons, first, because, on its face, the amendment does not discriminate against Japan, but is applicable to all nations; and, secondly, because the second article of the treaty just named expressly excepts from the operation of the compact any legislation regarding immigration which either of the signatories may previously have enacted or may hereafter enact. As a matter of fact, however, the President is known to have no intention of exercising the power conferred on him by the amendment, in the case of the subjects of any foreign Government except the Japanese. The power is notoriously given to him for the sole purpose of excluding Japanese laborers from California and other States on the Pacific coast, in consideration of which exclusion the San Francisco School Board has agreed to admit Japanese pupils of suitable age to all the public schools of that city. Meanwhile Chinese pupils will continue to be segregated in a particular school building. The feeling with which Democratic Senators regard what is virtually a bargain between President Roosevelt and the San Francisco School Board was expressed forcibly by Senator E. W. Carmack of Tennessee. The significance of the bargain

is, in Mr. Carmack's opinion, that a foreign Power has browbeaten the Government of the United States, and browbeaten a sovereign State of our Union into a surrender of its right to control its own affairs. The Senator from Tennessee went on to charge that, while the attitude of our Federal Government toward California, as evinced in a President's Message, has been harsh and offensive to the last degree, its attitude toward Japan has been obsequious and almost pusillanimous. He criticised the conduct of the President in this business, on the ground that, while he had spoken softly to a foreign Power, he had brandished a big stick over the backs of his own people. The amendment to the Immigration bill had no other purpose, Mr. Carmack declared, but to arm the Federal Executive with the means of coercing the people of a sovereign State into a surrender of their Constitutional right to regulate their own public schools.

There is no doubt that a considerable change has been observed in public opinion at the Federal capital with regard to the San Francisco school question, since the publication of the exact official text of the treaty of alliance concluded between Japan and Great Britain on August 12th, 1905, has shown that, in the second article, the "special interests" there mentioned are expressly defined as those set forth in the preamble of the agreement, that is to say, interests connected with the regions of Eastern Asia and of India. From the moment that Britain's neutrality could be counted on in a contest between the United States and Japan, the disposition to avert such a contest at any cost has tended to die away. For, if we should be practically guaranteed against aggression in the Atlantic, there seems to be no conclusive reason why we should not despatch to the Pacific the greater part of our navy, which, in respect of battle-ships, is materially stronger than the Japanese. In other words, while we could do nothing on the ocean against Britain and Japan combined, we have no reason to fear the latter Power, if it should be isolated and forced to rely upon its own resources. Such isolation being now accepted as an indisputable fact, there is in Washington a growing inclination to regret the exhibition of an excessive eagerness to conciliate Japan. Of course the treaty rights of the Tokio Government will be respected, but, thanks to ex-Secretary Olney, attention has been directed to their precise scope and purport.

Since the publication on February 16th of the text of the new

treaty between the United States and the Dominican Republic, there has been some improvement in the prospect of securing a ratification of it by two-thirds of the Senators during the present session of Congress. The preamble of the treaty sets forth that the external and internal debt of Santo Domingo has been scaled down to a sum not exceeding \$17,000,000, and that arrangements can be made to liquidate this indebtedness forthwith by the issuance of \$20,000,000 of fifty-year five-per-cent. bonds, purchasable at 96, and redeemable after ten years at 102½, the Dominican Republic pledging itself not to increase its debt until these bonds shall have been paid, except with the sanction of the President of the United States. A condition precedent to the purchase of the said bonds by an unnamed banking-house is the ratification of the new treaty, whereby the Dominican Republic agrees that the President of the United States shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the American Senate, a general receiver of Dominican customs, who, with such assistant receivers as may be appointed by the President of the United States, shall collect all the customs revenue of the Dominican Republic, until the payment or retirement of all bonds issued by the Dominican Government. The sums collected by the general receiver are to be applied, partly to the payment of interest and the establishment of a sinking-fund with regard to the Dominican bonds, and partly to the administrative expenses of the Dominican Republic. It will be noted that by the present treaty the United States does not agree to uphold any particular government at Santo Domingo, but simply undertakes to give the general receiver and his assistants such protection as may be needed for the performance of their duties. On the whole, it seems that the new treaty reduces our responsibilities to a minimum, while safeguarding the Dominican Republic from the bombardment and blockade to which, in 1902, Venezuela was subjected. The impression is gaining ground in Washington that some such interposition on our part will be requisite to shield the weaker Latin-American commonwealths from the seizure of their customs revenues by European Powers, until a Hague Congress shall have proclaimed the Drago doctrine a fundamental principle of international law, an event which we are unlikely to witness at an early date.